

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SS-20 NSC-07

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-11 L-03 ACDA-19 NSAE-00 PA-04

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NEA-14 SAM-01 /133 W

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE 4271

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

USMION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

USDOCSOUTH PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

CINCUSAFE PRIORITY

COMSIXTHFLT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR PRIORITY

CINCUSNAVEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4006

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CY, TU, GR, NATO

SUBJECT: CYPRUS: JULY 20 NAC, FIRST SESSION

1. NAC MET AT 09:00 JULY 20 ON CYPRUS CRISIS. SYG LUNS BEGAN BY ASKING FOR REPORT ON MILITARY SITUATION FROM ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON, CHAIRMAN OF MILITARY COMMITTEE. HILL-NORTON REPORTED THAT TURKEY HAD OFFICIALLY REPORTED THIS MORNING THE WITHDRAWAL OF CERTAIN TURKISH FORCES FROM NATO COMMITMENT AND THEIR REVERSION TO NATIONAL CONTROL. HE ESTIMATED THESE FORCES AMOUNTED TO ABOUT 5 PERCENT OF TURKISH FORCES COMMITTED TO NATO. TURKEY HAS DECLARED MILITARY
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DANGER AREA IN VICINITY OF CYPRUS. TURKISH MILITARY AIRCRAFT HAVE OVERFLOWN NICOSIA AND TURKISH LANDINGS HAVE BEEN OBSERVED IN GENERAL AREA OF KYRENIA. A FLEET OR SQUADRON OF MIXED COMPONENTS HAS SAILED FROM TURKEY TO CYPRUS. HILL-NORTON EXPRESSED

PERSONAL OPINION THAT TURKISH TROOPS HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH RESISTANCE ON ISLAND EXCEPT IN EVENT OF GREEK REINFORCEMENT. HE NOTED IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT FOR MILITARY COMMITTEE TO ATTEMPT FORMAL ASSESSMENT, IN SITUATION WHERE TWO NATO ALLIES INVOLVED. SHAPE IS IN SOME DIFFICULTY. IF NAC WISHES DETAILED MILITARY ASSESSMENTS, THESE WOULD BEST BE DONE BY A MEMBER STATE. UK IS BEST INFORMED, BUT HILL-NORTON DID NOT KNOW IF CYPRUS TREATY PERMITTED UK TO DO SUCH ASSESSMENTS. IF NOT, MAYBE THE US COULD DO THEM.

2. LUNS GAVE RESUME OF NUMBERS OF MEN BELONGING TO NATIONAL GUARD, GREEK AND TURKISH BATTALIONS, CYPRUS POLICE, AND UN FORCE ON ISLAND. DE ROSE (FRANCE) ASKED HILL-NORTON WHAT REASON TURKEY HAD GIVEN FOR REMOVAL OF CERTAIN FORCES FROM NATO COMMITMENT, AND WHETHER THERE WERE ANY MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS ON FRONTIER OF GREECE AND TURKEY. HILL

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NORTON SAID HE DID NOT HAVE THE FACTS TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) REFERRED TO PRESS REPORTS OF CONCENTRATIONS ON GREEK TURKISH FRONTIER AND ASKED IF HILL-NORTON HAD ANYTHING AT ALL ON THEM. HILL-NORTON SAID HE PERSONALLY WOULD FIND IT INCREDIBLE IF SOME CALL UP OF RESERVISTS HAD NOT TAKEN PACE, BUT HE WAS TRYING TO CONFINE HIMSELF TO FACTS. DE STAERCKE ASKED IF THE TWO COUNTRIES CONCERNED COULD REPLY, BUT LUNS ASKED THAT THIS QUESTION BE POSTPONED UNTIL LATER IN THE DISCUSSION. LUNS ASKED HILL-NORTON IF HE HAD ANY NUMBERS ON TURKISH TROOPS LANDING IN CYPRUS. HILL-NORTON SAID HE HAD NO RELIABLE FIGURES, BUT THE UK MIGHT KNOW, SINCE THE RAF HAD BEEN OBSERVING. HE SAID THAT OF THE TWO THOUSAND TO FIVE THOUSAND TROOPS REPORTED IN THE PRESS, HIS ESTIMATE WOULD BE CLOSER TO TWO THOUSAND SO FAR. DE ROSE ASKED, IF THIS WERE SO, WHY HILL-NORTON HAD ESTIMATED TURKISH TROOPS HAVE CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH RESISTANCE ON ISLAND. HILL-NORTON SAID HE FELT TURKISH TROOPS ON ISLAND NOW AMOUNTED TO ABOUT 2,000 BECAUSE LANDING ONLY STARTED AT 06:00. HE NOTED THAT THESE WERE DETERMINED, REGULAR SOLDIERS, AND HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD WOULD WISH TO FACE THEM IN COMBAT. THIS WAS THE BASIS FOR HIS PERSONAL REMARKS ON TURKISH CAPABILITY.

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3. LOGAN (UK) SAID CALLAGHAN WAS DISAPPOINTED THIS MORNING TO HEAR ON THE RADIO OF THE INVASION OF CYPRUS. SINCE UK IS CO-GUARANTOR, HE WOULD HAVE HOPED TO BE INFORMED BY MORE NORMAL CHANNEL. LOGAN SAID THE UK GOVERNMENT HAS SENT INVITATION TO GREECE AND TURKEY TO HOLD HIGH LEVEL CONFERENCE IN LONDON TODAY. AIM OF THIS CONFERENCE IS TO PREVENT ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT. UK WILL TRY TO WORK WITH CO-GUARANTORS TOWARD RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL RULE IN CYPRUS. UK WILL TRY TO PERSUADE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO LIMIT FIGHTING, TO DECLARE CEASE FIRE SOONEST, AND TO ISSUE DECLARATION OF ITS WISH TO RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT ON CYPRUS. UK WILL TRY TO PERSUADE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO AVOID ESCALATION OR INTERVENTION BY FORCE, AND TO ACCEPT THAT SAMPSON AND HIS REGIME MUST BE REMOVED. UK HOPES GREECE WILL MAKE

PUBLIC DECLARATION ALONG THESE LINES. LOGAN SAID UK HAD MADE THE ABOVE CLEAR TO THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT GREECE AND TURKEY ACCEPT THE UK INVITATION, AND SEND HIGH LEVEL OFFICIALS WITH LEAST DELAY. TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON WHEN TOLD OF THIS AT 7:00 A.M. THIS MORNING SAID HE MIGHT HAVE DIFFICULTY GETTING THE MESSAGE THROUGH TO ANKARA IN VIEW OF COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES. THEREFORE TULUMEN (TURKEY) MIGHT REPEAT THE MESSAGE. IN RESPONSE TO HILL-NORTON'S REMARKS, LOGAN SAID HE HAD NO FIGURES ON PRESENT TURKISH STRENGTH ON ISLAND, BUT TURKEY IS OVIOUSLY IN POSITION TO PUT CONSIDERABLE FORCE ON ISLAND.

4. RUMSFELD (US) THEN MADE STATEMENT, DRAWING ON STATE 157943, WHICH WE ARE REPORTING SEPTEL. LUNS SAID THAT BEFORE THE MEETING HE TOLD RUMSFELD HE WAS CONSIDERING SENDING A MESSAGE TO GREECE AND TURKEY UNDER HIS WATCHING BRIEF, AND RUMSFELD CONSIDERED THIS USEFUL.

5. DE STAERCKE INTERVENED WITH SOME EMOTION SAYING THIS IS A DAY OF MOURNING AND IT COULD BE THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE ALLIANCE. DE STAERCKE WISHED TO ECHO WHAT RUMSFELD HAD SAID AND EMPHASIZED THAT THIS IS INDEED A MOST SERIOUS CRISIS. SUCH A THING AS IS HAPPENING NOW IN CYPRUS HAS NEVER HAPPENED BEFORE ON TERRITORY OUTSIDE THE ALLIANCE. IF THIS SITUATION CONTINUES, HE SAID, THE ALLIANCE WILL BE IN CONTRADICTION WITH ITSELF.

6. DE STAERCKE SAID THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM ENTIRELY SUPPORTS AND THANKS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UK FOR WHAT IT HAS DONE AND ALSO
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IT WILL FOLLOW IN THE FOOT STEPS OF THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO SUPPORT THE CALL ON THE TWO ALLIES AND TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO AVOID ACTUAL FIGHTING BETWEEN THEM. HE SAID IT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF THOSE TWO PARTIES, OF THE ALLIANCE AND OF ALL THAT PEACE BE RESTROED. THE DEAN URGED THOSE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WHO HAVE A GREATER ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS CRISIS TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO RESTORE PEACE. HE ENDED HIS STATEMENT WITH A QUESTION TO THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE ABOUT THE MEANING OF ECEVIT'S STATEMENT ABOUT RETURN "TO THE STATUS QUO".

7. CHORAFAS SAID HE HAD A STATEMENT TO MAKE BUT BEFORE DOING SO HE TOO WOULD LIKE TO HAVE AN ANSWER TO THE DEAN'S QUESTION ABOUT THE MEANING OF "RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO."

8. TULUMEN RESPONDED SAYING BY STATUS QUO HIS GOVERNMENT MEANS A RETURN TO THE SITUATION PROVIDED FOR IN THE 1960 AGREEMENTS. THIS, HE SAID, HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THE PROPER BASIS FOR A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6835

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

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9. TULUMEN SAID HE HAD RECEIVED A STATEMENT FROM ANKARA. HE SAID HE HAD HASTILY TRANSLATED IT, AND THAT HE WOULD CIRCULATE IT AFTER HE HAD POLISHED IT. READING FROM HIS ROUGH TRANSLATION HE SAID TURKEY HAD SHOWN GREAT RESTRAINT OVER THE YEARS DESPITE ALL OF THE VIOLATIONS OF THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE SINCE 1964. HOWEVER THERE WAS NO RESPONSE TO TURKISH RESTRAINT, AND HER MODERATION WAS EXPLOITED. AS A RESULT, A FAIT ACCOMPLI HAS EXISTED FOR YEARS IN WHICH LEGAL RIGHTS OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE BEEN USURPED. IN RECENT PUTSCH, ISLAND NOW TAKEN OVER BY GREECE. IN ADDITION A PERSON HAS BEEN BROUGHT IN AS HEAD OF REGIME WHO IS HOSTILE TO TURKS, AND CONSIDERS IT AN HONOR TO
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MASSACRE TURKS. HE SAID CRISIS WAS PROVOKED BY GREECE. TURKISH FORCES ARE THERE FOR PEACE, SECURITY, CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. UNLESS FOUGHT, THEY WILL NOT FIGHT. REGARDING LOGAN'S REQUEST THAT HE CONVEY UK INVITATION AND REMARKS TO ANKARA, HE SAID HE WOULD DO SO.

10. CHORAFAS (GREECE) ASKED LOGAN IF UK HAD RECEIVED ANSWER TO THE MESSAGE IT SENT YESTERDAY TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS FOR CONSULTA-

TION. LOGAN REPLIED THAT UK HAD SENT THE MESSAGE YESTERDAY TO GREEK GOVERNMENT ONLY, REGARDING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS. GREECE HAS ACCEPTED THAT INVITATION ALTHOUGH UK DOES NOT KNOW WHO GREECE WILL SEND TO LONDON OR WHEN. UK DID NOT SEND SUCH AN INVITATION TO TURKEY YESTERDAY, SINCE UK-TURKISH BILATERAL TALKS HAD ALREADY TAKEN PLACE. THAT, OF COURSE, WAS TOTALLY DIFFERENT MATTER FROM INVITATIONS EXTENDED TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS THIS MORNING.

11. CHORAFAS SAID HE HAD JUST RECEIVED TWO TELEGRAMS. ONE CABLE REPORTED ON TROOP MOVEMENTS IN BULGARIA. THE OTHER CABLE REPORTED EXTENSIVE FIGHTING IS STILL GOING ON IN CYPRUS. SEVERAL AIRPORTS HAVE BEEN BOMBED INCLUDING NICOSIA AIRPORT. BOMBINGS INCLUDED USE OF NAPALM BOMBS AGAINST GREEK CONTINGENTS IN CYPRUS. TURKISH PLANES HAVE NOT SPARED CIVILIAN POPULATION OR GREEK NATIONAL FORCES. WHILE NATO AND UN CONSIDERATION HAS PROCEEDED, AND WHILE GREECE WAS RESPONDING TO UK INVITATION, TURKEY HAS LAUNCHED ARMED ATTACK. THIS IS HOW TURKEY SEES THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS. TURKEY HAS COMMITTED A CRIMINAL ACT AGAINST CYPRUS, GREECE, ALLIANCE, OUR CIVILIZATION. THIS MAKES ENTIRE ALLIANCE FALL INTO RUIN. CHORAFAS SAID LET US NOT BE NAIVE AND HYPOCRITICAL. TURKEY LED A FIGHT FOR YEARS AGAINST MAKARIOUS, WHOM TURKEY CONSIDERED ITS WORST ENEMY. THE AIM OF TURKEY FOR 20 YEARS HAS BEEN TO PUT ITS FEET ON CYPRUS. THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME TURKEY HAS BOMBED THE ISLAND. ITS ATTACK WAS PREMEDITATED FOR MANY YEARS.

12. CHORAFAS CONTINUED SAYING THAT IN HIS VIEW THERE IS NO MARGIN TO SAVE ANYTHING FROM THIS ALLIANCE, BUT IF THERE IS HE CALLS UPON THE COUNCIL, THE SYG, AND ALL OF THE ALLIES TO DO THEIR DUTY BY STOPPING TURKISH AGGRESSION. IF THIS IS NOT DONE, HE SAID, THE FUTURE OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE DARK INDEED.

13. TULUMEN RECALLED HIS APPEAL TO AVOID A CLASH AND
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UNNECESSARY ARGUMENTATION, BUT HE FELT AMBASSADOR CHORAFAS' CHARGES REQUIRED AN ANSWER. HE REJECTED ALL THE ACCUSATIONS OF THE GREEK REPRESENTATIVE NOTING THAT CYPRUS IS NOT REPRESENTED IN THIS COUNCIL BY GREECE. TULUMEN SAID THE LEGITIMATE PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS WAS OUTSIDE OF HIS COUNTRY "FOR WELL KNOWN REASONS." THE TURKISH CHARGE SAID TURKISH FORCES HAD INSTRUCTIONS THIS MORNING NOT TO OPEN FIRE UNLESS THE GREEK CONTINGENT FIRED FIRST. HE REFERRED TO A TELEGRAM HE HAD JUST RECEIVED WHICH SAID THAT IT WAS THE GREEK CONTINGENT WHICH FIRST OPENED FIRE WITH ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS AGAINST TURKISH PLANES. CONCERNING GREEK REFERENCES TO THE WELFARE OF THE CYPRUS POPULATION, HE SAID TURKISH FORCES WERE BRINGING FOOD FOR THE PEOPLE WITH THEM BECAUSE OF THE SCARCITY OF FOOD IN THE CAPITAL SINCE THE COUP BECAUSE OF LLTING. CONCERNING HUMANITARISM, HE SAID THAT TO SEPAK OF THIS VIRTUE REQUIRED THAT ONE ENJOY A CERTAIN MEASURE OF DEMOCRACY. AS TO THE CHARGE THAT HE WAS A HYPROCTITE, TULUMEN SAID TIME WILL SHOW.

14. THE TURKISH CHARGE ADMITTED HIS COUNTRY HAD SOME DIFFERENCES WITH MAKARIOUS. BUT, HE SAID, TURKISH GOALS DID NOT CONCERN A PARTICULAR PERSON BUT RATHER HOW TO BRING ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER. IF TURKISH PLANES OPENED FIRE, TULUMEN SAID THAT CHORAFAS KNOWS THE REASON WHY. WHAT TURKEY HAS DONE, IS JUST, HE SAID. IF WE WANT TO SAVE THE ALLIANCE WE HAVE CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD HISTORY. AN EXCHANGE OF ACCUSATIONS AND COUNTER-ACCUSATIONS IS OF NO WORTH. FURTHERMORE, THE COUNCIL IS NOT A PUBLIC AREANA FOR PROPAGANDA.

15. TULUMEN CONCLUDED SAYING THE AIM OF TURKEY IS TO RETURN TO NORMALITY AND CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER IN CYPRUS. TURKEY IS TRYING TO MAINTAIN A DELICATE BALANCE THERE. HE REFERRED TO THE MEETING BETWEEN ECEVIT AND ANDROUTSOPOULOS HERE IN NATO HEADQUARTERS ON JUNE 26 AND TO OTHER ATTEMPTS BY HIS COUNTRY TO ENGAGE THE GREEKS IN NEGOTIATIONS WHICH FAILED, HE SAID, BECAUSE THE GREEK NEGOTIATORS LACKED AUTHORITY. TULUMEN APPEALED TO THE AMBASSADORS AND TO THE ENTIRE COUNCIL TO DO THEIR BEST IN THIS CRISIS.

16. FRENCH PERMREP (DE ROSE) AGREED WITH DE STAERCKE'S REMARKS THAT IN THIS CRISIS A LARGER THREAT OVERHANDS THE ALLIANCE. HE WISHED TO POINT OUT TO GREECE AND TURKEY THAT IF THE
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ALLIANCE IS THREATENED THEY ARE ALSO. DE ROSE WONDERED WHAT WOULD REMAIN OF GREEK OR TURKISH SECURITY OUTSIDE OF THE IM HE EED WITH RUMSFELD'S REMARKS THAT POWERS OUTSIDE WOULD BE ONLY TOO PLEASED AND TOO ANXIOUS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS SITUATION. HISTORY SHOWS THAT RARELY DOES ONE WHO TAKES A MILITARY INITIATIVE EVER REAP LASTING BENEFITS.

17. DE ROSE THEN SAID THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS QUICKLY TO INFORM HIS GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE UK AND US STATEMENTS. WHILE HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD GREEK AND TURKISH FEELINGS AND THAT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES HERE DESIRED TO EXPRESS TO THE COUNCIL THE FEELINGS OF THEIR PUBLIC OPINIONS, THAT WAS NOT THE PRIORITY OF THE COUNCIL.

18. THE UK CHARGE, REFERRING TO THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH REPS, SAID FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN HAD POINTED OUT TO GREECE HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS AT THIS TIME THAT GREECE TAKE NO STEPS, BEYOND THOSE ALREADY TAKEN, TO INTERFERE IN CYPRUS AND THAT GREECE DO NOTHING MORE THAT WOULD FURTHER IMPERIL THE SITUATION. CALLAGHAN URGED THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE TO THINK CAREFULLY BEFORE MAKING ANY REMARKS OR TAKING ANY ACTIONS.

19. FROM TIME TO TIME DURING THE METING SYG LUNS INTERRUPTED TO READ NEWS DISPATCHES. REFERRING TO A PRESS REPORT THAT CANADIAN FORCES IN CYPRUS HAD INTERVENED IN THE FIGHTING, CANADIAN AMBASSADOR MENZIES WISHED TO CORRECT ANY FALSE IMPRESSION CREATED BY THAT REPORT. HE SAID INSTRUCTIONS TO

THE CANADIAN CONTINGENT WERE SENT TO THE CANADIAN COMMANDING OFFICER THROUGH THE UN COMMAND, AND ANY ACTIVITY BY CANADIAN FORCES WOULD THUS BE UNDER UN MANDATE.

20. SYG CALLED FOR NAC TO RECESS AND RECONVENE AT 1100 (1000 GMT).
RUMSFELD

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ATHENS
NICOSIA
USMION USUN N Y
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USNMR SHAPE
CINCUSAFE
COMSIXTHFLT
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